The Peace Movement and the Black Panthers, P. 2

The First Challenge of the New Year to Richard Nixon

"Is investment in medical research, vocational education, mental retardation programs, air pollution control, libraries, and training nurses, doctors and teachers somehow more inflationary than spending on the SST and running up billions of dollars in cost over-runs on military projects?"

—Reps. Perkins *(D. Ky.)*, Brademas *(D. Ind.)*, Cohelan *(D. Calif.)* and Howard *(D. N.J.)*, protesting Nixon's threatened veto of the HEW bill, Jan. 9.

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Mr. Computer Calls for National Planning

None of the basic problems of the 70s is going to be soluble without fundamental changes in the structure of the American government. The most important of these is national planning. Every big business in America plans but the biggest business of all, the management of the country's resources is unplanned, and at the mercy of powerfully organized business (and labor) groups, which exploit the weaker sectors of the economy. National planning has been a dirty word ever since the early Fifties, when merely to mention it was politically suspect. On the eve of a Presidential message expected to deal with the suddenly fashionable problem of the environment, we print here an unusual speech by one of America's biggest big business men which breaks the ice on the question of national planning. It was originally delivered Jan. 7 to the Bond Club of New York. The interlocked problems of pollution, poverty, racism, urban sprawl and arms spending will not be solved unless we find a way to match needs with resources and set priorities as national goals five or 10 years ahead.

By THOMAS J. WATSON, JR.
Chairman of the Board, IBM

Ten years back, in the twilight years of the Eisenhower era, I served with some very distinguished Americans on a committee called the Commission on National Goals. Some of the names of the members are still familiar: Frank Pace, John Gardner, Clark Kerr and August Heckscher. Our job, back in the late 1950's, was to suggest goals for our country in the 1960's, and two things surprised me at the time. First was the realization that this country had no very specific goals set down on paper; and second was the realization that no matter what goals we chose, there was practically no mechanism in government to methodically implement them—and there isn't now.

The nation was bouncing along as it is now, geared to annual appropriations by Congress in about the way it had in the 19th century. There was no road map, there was no one to say—here's where we are, here's where we want to go, and here's the route to get there.

In most businesses, and certainly in highly technological industries, the United States has learned how to set fairly precise goals. We've learned that we have to implement them, step-by-step, in a disciplined way over a long period of time.

I believe that the complexity of our modern economy demands national goal setting and planning closely paralleling that which is commonplace in industry.

Looking at the goals we named a decade ago and reviewing what actually happened is interesting. The nation did aim toward many of those recommendations in the '60's. We saw vast increases in higher education, for example, and enormous growth in our economy, our commission really didn't set these goals and identify them to the country for the first time; rather they are implicit in the United States—we merely emphasized them. But we missed some of the problems of the time—pollution, for example, did not get much attention and we were overly concerned about others, like Appalachia as a specific area of poverty, rather than a country-wide condition.

And our call to stop communism anywhere—despite the price—drifted us into an unattainable goal in Vietnam. Since we have no formal mechanism to study, adjust, and reset our national priorities in an integrated fashion, we pursued the Vietnam goal to a costly point. The lives of 40,000 of our men have been lost, vast resources have been wasted, and the morale of our youth eroded.

(Continued On Page Two)

A Second Haynsworth

Nixon's new appointee to the Supreme Court is a Dixiecrat judge with a Dixiecrat mentality. He engineered Senator Russell's successful campaign to win the Florida Democratic primary in 1952 over Estes Kefauver, and launched a Democrats-for-Eisenhower campaign when Adlai Stevenson was nominated. He turned Republican after Eisenhower's victory and was rewarded by appointment as U.S. Attorney for Northern Florida, and in 1958 as a Federal District Judge. When Nixon elevated him to the Fifth Circuit last June, civil rights groups declared he was more hostile to black litigants than any other Federal Judge in Florida. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in a statement on his nomination to the Supreme Court said his rulings had shown "a strong bias against Negroes asserting civil rights claims." He seems to share Judge Haynsworth's insensitivity on conflict of interest. Last Fall he went along with two colleagues on the Fifth Circuit who insisted on sitting in a major oil and gas case despite substantial holdings in these industries. He is made to order for Nixon's old friend, J. Edgar Hoover. Of 14 Circuit judges, Carswell was the only dissenter from a decision reversing a conviction because the FBI had failed to apprise a suspect of his rights. Like Nixon, he is an avid football fan. Under Nixon we are heading for a Supreme Court of mediocrity, with little sympathy for the disadvantaged or for civil liberties. This is the Southern strategy in jurisprudence.

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This and other lessons convince me that we must recognize the existence of national goals. They are not formally set, but they are there nevertheless. Today, they are mixture of party platforms, State of the Union messages, and editorial nagging —from it all comes that elusive thing called public opinion, and from public opinion comes direction.

The national goals of this country should be set and re-studied annually. The should be costed and readjusted on an integrated basis just as a larger industrial enterprise sets and controls its goals. This process cannot come about by the periodic appointment of national goals commissions like the one I served on.

A New Government Agency

What we need is a completely new governmental body; perhaps a Senate/House/Citizen group, to sit permanently on this matter and report to the President, Congress would have to pass enabling legislation giving this commission substantial power if it's to do the job that's needed. For instance, I believe we can pour as much concrete as we want to pour in this country. If we're serious about rebuilding the cities, they will be rebuilt; if we're serious about cleaning up pollution, Manhattan will have Hudson and East River swimming clubs by 1980.

There's another lesson from the '60's which is basic in talking about the coming decade. We have learned something about economics in recent years. Depression is no longer inevitable; in fact, we can look forward to rapid and fairly steady economic growth if we are wise in the way we manage the economy. This is essential to our national goals, we can have more resources—we can do more.

A reasonable estimate for ten years from now shows a $1.5 trillion economy, in today's dollars, a per capita income that has grown from the $3,140 of today to $4,370, and government revenues, Federal, State and local, that will have grown from $303 billion to half a trillion. The resources will be there, but what are we trying to achieve with them?

Are we still aiming at eliminating communism? Well, we'd better think again. It's a happy comfortable thought to believe that we can indeed make ourselves relatively safe and the Soviet Union relatively unsafe with anti-missile missiles and so forth. But think a little deeper. Our efforts might leave 50 million survivors here at home instead of 25 when the holocaust is over, while we kill two-thirds of the Russians

The Peace Movement and the Black Panthers

Richard Nixon is an evil man. This is the motherfucker that unleashed the counter-insurgent teams upon the Black Panther Party. This is the man that's responsible for all the attacks upon the Black Panther party nationally. This is the man that sends his vicious, murderous dogs out into the black community and invade upon our Black Panther breakfast program, destroy food that we have for hungry kids and expect us to accept shit like that idly. Fuck that motherfucking man, we will kill Richard Nixon, we will kill any motherfucker that stands in the way of our freedom. We aint here for no goddam peace, because we know that we can't have no peace because this country was built on war. And if you want peace you got to fight for it.

—David Hilliard, Chief of Staff, Black Panther Party, at the San Francisco peace rally Nov. 15 as quoted in the New Mobilization Committee statement on repression at a Washington press conference Jan. 9.

On Dec. 3 Mr. Hilliard was arrested, having been charged with making in his Nov. 15 speech "certain threats to take the life of and to inflict bodily harm upon the President of the United States, Richard Nixon." The New Mobilization Committee denounces the U.S. government for this action. The rally at which Mr. Hilliard spoke had some 250,000 people present. He spoke in the language of the streets. In charging and prosecuting Mr. Hilliard the government is directly violating his First Amendment rights under the U.S. Constitution.

—From the same New Mobilization statement.

Who is helped by Hilliard's kind of wild talk? The Black Panthers or the police? The peace demonstrators in San Francisco booed him. The Supreme Court may decide that his threats against the President were only rhetoric, and as such protected by the First Amendment. It is a very dangerous rhetoric. Haven't we had enough of assassination? It was appalling at the Mobe press conference to hear one of its leaders defend "good" as distinguished from "bad" violence. Every murderous mob in history from Southern lynchers to Nazis to the Chicago police who killed Fred Hampton and Mark Clark have been sure *their* violence was "good." Such rhetoric is suicidal for a minority. It has no place in the peace movement. It invites the repression of which it complains.

Another Example Of Lunatic Political Talk Which Can Only Help Forces Of Repression

Mr. Mike Wallace: What purpose is served by talking of shooting your way into the Senate of the United States, taking off the head of Senator McClellan and shooting your way back out? What purpose is really served by this kind of talk and what would be accomplished —

Mr. Eldridge Cleaver: The goal is to take Senator McClellan's head. Now the process of getting his head has to lie in the strategic technique. I can't just walk in and take his head and walk out, see. I have to get past the guards and get past those who might try to protect his pig head. So to me I think that would mean shooting my way in and shooting my way out, because I wouldn't want to go in, take his head and just sit there.

Mr. Wallace: But right now we are at the point of trying to understand. When the American people hear that you want to shoot your way into the U.S. Senate, take off the head of a Senator —

Mr. Cleaver: And take off the head of Richard Nixon.

Mr. Wallace: What does this mean? Is this rhetoric?

Mr. Cleaver: This is not rhetoric. I am telling you that Richard J. Nixon, J. Edgar Hoover, Senator John McClellan et al—not just them but all of the pigs of the power structure have to be apprehended, and I feel myself, you see, that the fate that they receive would depend upon the resistance they put up. I feel that they are criminals, that they are the decision makers who are programming oppression and and destruction not only in the U.S. but around the world.

—From Algiers on CBS "60 Minutes", January 6.

In South Vietnam, Thieu also talks of beheading his enemies. A Reuters dispatch from Saigon in the New York Times Dec. 23 said he told village officials that if the legislature failed to act against three pro-peace members "the people and the armed forces will cut off the three deputies' heads."

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instead of only one-half. This, to me, is only half thinking and, if we set our national goals on this basis, we'll be following an impossible path.

If I'm correct then, one goal which we should have in our minds for the 1970's, is a more relaxed attitude, a detente, if you will, toward the more tractable communist countries.

The most important national priority is first reaching some kind of arrangement with the Soviets. A lot is riding on those negotiations that began in Helsinki. If they fail, the 1970's will tend to be a replay of the '60's with defense absorbing a goodly share of the new resources we generate.

When There Is No Slack

The failures of the 60's were not entirely for want of resources. While defense took 37% of our new money, health, welfare, and education got over 40%. The failures stem from different reasons. Let me mention them, for I have come to believe that they are engrained in the way we manage our national affairs. Money is essential, but is no longer enough. A major shortcoming, I believe, is that we don't take into account the differences between a fully utilized economy and an economy where there are slack and unused resources. Essentially, throughout the late '60's, the U.S. was an economy running beyond safe limits and it is likely to be running flat out through the '70's. When that is the situation, a government program which pours money into one section of the economy does not call forth unemployed labor or idle plants; there aren't any. What it does is reallocate. It takes from one part of the economy and gives to another.

I don't believe this was understood, for instance, when congress passed the Medicaid Bill. Medicaid essentially gave one group, and a very deserving one, the purchasing power to compete for an already scarce resource, health care, Medicaid did not build more hospitals, it did not train more doctors and nurses. It did not, so far as I know, even do much to impact our worst medical shortcoming, the high infant mortality rate in this country—one of the highest in the developed world. I don't think the current result should be too surprising—spiralling medical costs as the public sector bids against the private for an inelastic supply.

I'm sure this was not understood when our legislators, with the very best of intentions, voted for Medicaid. I use it to illustrate a point about goals. In the new and complex economy, without the luxury of idle resources, one goal diverts resources from another, and we have to factor this into the decision making.

Just as General Motors can't develop two new Cadillacs for 1971, so the U.S. must balance and compromise toward an integrated set of goals and accomplishments. If health care is not adequate, then the first step should be training doctors and nurses; the second is bringing into the system people who have been neglected. I don't object to seeing both of those steps carried out simultaneously, but, as you know, the step that we took was the second one; and the first one still hasn't been attended to.

We're undertaking change through the instrument of government, on a scale of vastness that we never even contemplated before. We're trying to get the results of detailed planning without the discipline of planning. Currently, we're talking about a dreadful housing shortage which will increase during the '70's. I see little evidence that this is reflected in increased enrollment in architectural schools, in vocational schools, in new approaches to zoning and land condemnation

(Continued On Page Four)

Alarm Signals Over Thailand

I have finally received a detailed response to my inquiry on the training in this country of foreign military personnel in chemical and biological warfare —CBW. I am disturbed over some of the more specific implications. . . . The relatively large number of Thai personnel, 24, who have received training suggests that the introduction of tear gases and defoliants into Thailand at some future date is being considered seriously. It may be seen from the information provided me that similar training was given to a number of South Vietnamese personnel prior to the commencement of the use of powerful tear gases in Vietnam in 1965. . . . It is also apparent that this training for the use of chemical agents in Thailand is only part of a more general and dangerous involvement in Southeast Asia at a time when we are purportedly trying to disengage ourselves from the tragic mistake in Vietnam.

—Kastenmeier *(D. Wis.)*, Dec. 29 Con. Rec., E10992.

The Tribulations Of A Soldier Paper—And A Near Atrocity It Reported

I am a Canadian, not an American. I am in the Army not by choice. But as long as I am in the service I am discouraged from voicing my opinion by my unit leaders. But I feel it is my moral obligation to voice my feelings here and now. . . . I spent a tour in Vietnam as an infantryman, I was wounded five times. . . .

During my tour in Vietnam my platoon was ordered to destroy completely a small village in the northern highlands near Dakto. We were ordered to kill everyone in the village including women and babies, bury them and burn the village within 24 hours. Our 19-year-old lieutenant agreed with us that it was very immoral to kill these people. We told the villagers to gather as many possessions as they could carry and leave the area and not return. When the commanding officer came by to check the village the following day, all the captain found were the remains of the village and a large grave containing only water buffalo. We told the commanding officer the bodies were buried beneath the animals. . . .

—From the Dec.-Jan. issue of Aboveground, *an underground newspaper published by soldiers in the Denver area. One of the editors is Curtis Stocker, who spoke at the Washington Mobilization Nov. 15. As a courtesy, Stocker and co-editor Thomas Roberts gave army officials advance proofs of the issue. The result follows:*

The December issue of Aboveground was to be printed Dec. 12 by Peerless Graphics of Colorado Springs. On Dec. 11, at approximately 3 p.m., agents of the FBI, Military Intelligence and the local police visited their printshop, intimidated the printers and consequently halted production of the paper.

—From the Dec.-Jan. Aboveground.

The Peerless spokesman was asked what kind of "pressure" the visiting officials applied. "Well," he said, "we try to do business in a town where we are, you might say, respected. See? And we weren't going to irritate them (the officials who visited him). They didn't say we couldn't print it. But they wanted copies of the paper. They wanted this and they wanted that, and I just wasn't going into a thing like that."

—Denver Post, Dec. 18.

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Can the National Dinosaur Only Be Moved By Noisily Kicking It?

(Continued From Page Three)

or in relaxation of building trades' work rules. We have to understand that if you want another 26 million housing units by 1980, a lot has to happen in 1970, and I don't think that it is.

We have littered the last decade with the bones of good intentions, and we've come out disillusioned and angry. Just as we've learned something about economics, imperfectly, but something, we have the beginnings of a science of input/output analysis. We're beginning to understand how parts of the economy inter-relate, how things fit together and affect each other; with today's rapid communications and computer abilities, it is becoming possible to test alternatives—to know if a program is workable and to get some feeling on what its real costs will be before we commit this enormous nation to an unrealistic or incomplete goal.

Our Resources in People

Less developed, but becoming feasible, are some new ways or understanding our people resources; and we know that people are not infinitely versatile. A bond trader makes a very fine executive, but so far none of them has done much in nuclear physics. To what degree can we shift—to what degree can we find people to take on new tasks? That, I believe, is our greatest constraint, and it isn't considered very often. As I said earlier, if we're going to get these problems solved in the future, goal setting and goal analysis has to be elevated in government. Presidential commissions aren't enough, and we've got to get started.

In the final analysis it's not really hard to set most of our goals—education, health care, a decent standard of living—there's nothing very complicated about what we want. It will be harder to decide on priorities, but that's what the political process is all about. The real gain, if what I'm suggesting can be made to work, is quite different. The debate about the priorities could be limited to the possible, and the tradeoffs, which are mostly ignored today, would be understood. A new congressional program offered to the country as a congressional bill would have to be integrated to the overall goals and priorities of the country before being presented to the public, and its impact on all of the other programs would be presented at the same time.

Finally, I believe we should begin to acknowledge our successes. One by-product of the way we manage today is the endless dialogue of despair. Well-intentioned people believe the only way the national dinosaur can be moved is by noisily kicking it. Their criticism is magnified in minds less experienced and less aware of where we've come from and where other societies are now. The result increasingly is nihilism in the young—a rejection of America without any appreciation of what it is achieving. A permanent goals body would not only set the goals—it would report progress and achievement.

As an institution begins to grow, it must change the way it manages its affairs. This is true in business, and it's no less true in government. Without goals, Explicit goals, and plans for getting from A to B we don't know where we're going, and we don't know whether or not we'll have the resources to get there.

It's a sad thing, a very sad thing when a nation like this one has to creep into a new decade with its tail between its legs. I don't want to do that again. I want to sail into the 1980's—and I want to see flags flying and hear bands playing. We can do that, I'm convinced, if we're willing to take a hard, cold and constant look at how we're running the biggest enterprise in the world.

Defense Marches On/Boeing Never Sleeps

Army is investigating an urban missile defense system called Regional Urban Defense Intercept (RUDI) in which high-explosive warheads of anti-missiles would shower gravel in the path of oncoming missile targets. The study is one of many in the service's continuing examination of ballistic missile defense concepts. Others include a Boeing idea for mounting anti-missiles on aircushion vehicles deployed around the Polar Cap.

—Industry Observer, *Aviation Week*, Dec. 8.

Why not avoid cost overruns on aircushions by putting mobile Boeing anti-missiles on Polar bears?

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